

## Message Text

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ORIGIN INR-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SIG-03 ARA-10  
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DRAFTED BY INR/RAF:GMJOHNSON:MLCOOK:LAR  
APPROVED BY INR:MPACKMAN  
AF/C:WLSWING  
AF/S:JNACH  
IO:UNP:SESCUDERO  
AF/W:PCHAVEAS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 066022

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652:XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, AO, US

SUBJECT: ANGOLA-NAMIBIA: MPLA, UNITA, AND SWAPO

REF: LAGOS 2218

NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS OR CONTRACTORS/WARNING  
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NOTICE -- SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED.

1. FOLLOWING ARE INR/AF COMMENTS AS REQUESTED REFTEL.
2. YOUR IMPRESSION THAT THE ANGOLANS BELIEVE THAT THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS WOULD EASE IF SWAPO DOMINATED NAMIBIA

JIBES WITH OTHER REPORTS WE HAVE HAD OF THEIR VIEWS. THE NETO GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY COMPLAINED OF SOUTH AFRICAN VIOLATIONS OF ANGOLAN BORDERS AND SUPPORT FOR UNITA INSURGENTS. LAST MAY ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE TOLD AMBASSADOR YOUNG THAT THE LONGER THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM REMAINED, THE MORE ANGOLA SUFFERED, PARTICULARLY FROM SOUTH AFRICAN AND UNITA ATTACKS. OTHER OFFICIALS REGULARLY ECHO SENTIMENTS LINKING THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA WITH UNITA'S CONTINUED EFFECTIVENESS.

3. WE ARE UNABLE TO JUDGE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE ANGOLANS ACTUALLY BELIEVE THAT THEIR UNITA PROBLEM IS A CREATION OF

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER. WHILE WE ARE UNCERTAIN OF THE ACTUAL AMOUNT OF AID SOUTH AFRICA PROVIDES TO UNITA, WE BELIEVE IT IS LESS THAN THE MPLA SUGGESTS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE UNITA IS PROBABLY STRONG ENOUGH TO CONTINUE TO CHALLENGE THE MPLA CONTROL OF MUCH OF SOUTHERN ANGOLA EVEN WITHOUT SOUTH AFRICAN SUPPORT. UNITA HAS OTHER SUPPORTERS AND SUPPLIERS AND IT WAS MORE SUCCESSFUL AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY IN THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD THAN THE MPLA. HOWEVER, A SIGNIFICANT DIMINUTION OF AID COULD CONCEIVABLY MAKE SAVIMBI WILLING TO COMPROMISE UNITA'S DEMAND THAT THE CUBANS DEPART AS A PRE-CONDITION FOR UNITY TALKS.

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4. THE EVIDENT ANGOLAN THESIS THAT A SWAPO-DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA WOULD BE COMPLETELY AGAINST UNITA IS ALSO OPEN TO SOME QUESTION. WHILE THE MPLA HAS REASON TO EXPECT SWAPO GRATITUDE, SWAPO'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MPLA HAS NEVER BEEN AN UNDILUTED BLESSING FOR THE NAMIBIAN MOVEMENT: BY COOPERATING WITH THE MPLA, IT ACQUIRED A TROUBLING ADVERSARY IN UNITA.

5. IN MANY WAYS UNITA IS SWAPO'S MORE "NATURAL" ALLY:

-- UNITA DOES NOT DIFFER WITH THE SWAPO CAUSE; BEFORE INDEPENDENCE THE TWO MOVEMENTS COOPERATED CLOSELY.

-- MANY OF THEIR FOLLOWERS ARE ETHNICALLY RELATED.

-- SUCH IDEOLOGY AS SWAPO DOES PROFESS SEEMS CLOSER TO SAVIMBI'S AMORPHOUS SOCIALISM THAN TO NETO'S MORE DOCTRINAIRE MARXISM.

6. SWAPO'S DECISION TO SIDE WITH THE MPLA, WHEN IT WAS THE APPARENT VICTOR, CAUSED CONSIDERABLE INTERNAL ARGUMENT AND SOME DEFECTIONS FROM SWAPO. THE DECISION WAS NEVER

FULLY ACCEPTED, AND SOME RANKING SWAPO OFFICIALS (BUT APPARENTLY NOT NUJOMA) SEEMED INTERESTED IN REVERSING IT. THUS, DESPITE A DEBT TO THE MPLA, SOME ELEMENTS OF A SWAPO-DOMINATED NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT FAVOR A DISCREET TOLERATION AND EVEN FACILITATION OF SOME UNITA ACTIVITIES.

7. MOREOVER, EVEN IF SWAPO WERE ENTIRELY DISENCHANTED WITH UNITA AS A RESULT OF THE LATTER'S ACCEPTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN AID, IT IS QUESTIONABLE THAT IT WOULD HAVE MUCH ENERGY, MEANS, OR INTEREST TO SPARE FROM ITS OWN NATION-BUILDING EFFORTS TO BE OF SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO THE MPLA STRUGGLE WITH UNITA. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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